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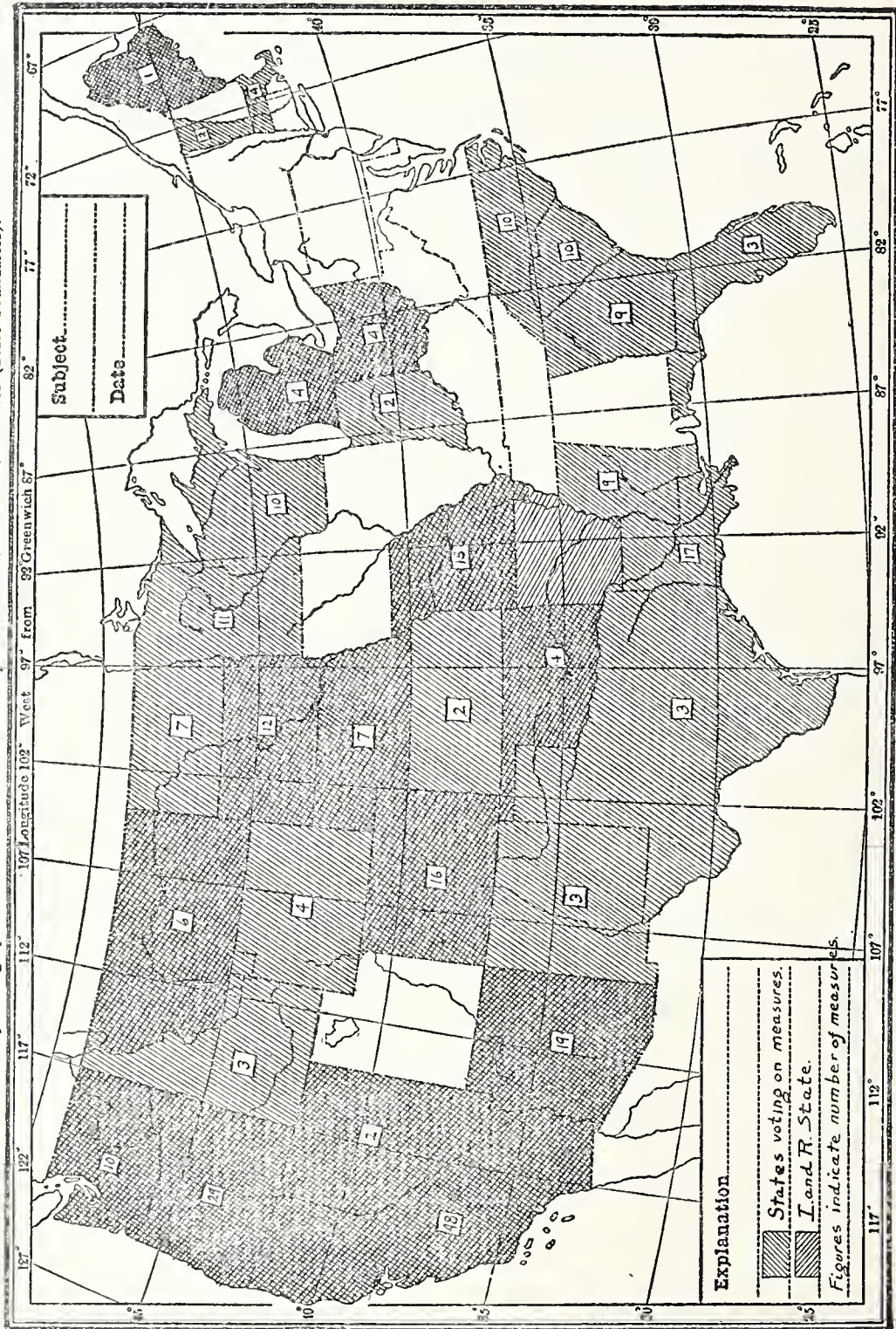
A Journal of Opinion

A ANALYSIS of the Popular
Vote on Constitutional
and Legislative Proposals in
the General Election of 1914

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INTRODUCTION

IN November of last year a larger number of legislative proposals were submitted to popular vote in the different states of the American Union than at any previous election in the history of the country. Some two hundred and eighty laws or constitutional amendments were accepted or rejected by the electorate. The action upon these bills affords an unprecedentedly good opportunity to study the system of direct popular government at work, and to discover the preferences which determined the affirmative or negative decisions of the voters in the different parts of the country.

The results of this latest example of direct popular voting are recorded, tabulated and appraised in the following pages. Such an inquiry is usually made for the benefit of specialists in political science and published in technical quarterlies, but *THE NEW REPUBLIC* has had the investigation made and is printing the results in the hope of securing the attention to this very important subject of a more general class of readers. Any intelligent American voter, present or prospective, ought to be interested in a political experiment so intimately associated with the fulfillment of American democratic ideals as that of direct popular voting on legislative proposals.

Many of our readers will dissent from the concluding assertion of the last paragraph. Direct popular government is not intimately associated in their

minds with the ideals of the American democracy. They will consider it a fugitive experiment, the effects of which up to date are far from reassuring and which will gradually diminish rather than increase in popularity. In support of their scepticism they can parade the recent history of the agitation in favor of direct popular government. Some years ago it was making rapid progress in different parts of the country, but chiefly in the region west of the Mississippi River. At that time its early adoption by the great majority of the states seemed to be inevitable. The initiative, referendum and recall occupied the headlines of every progressive platform, and progressives usually considered it impossible to accomplish indispensable economic reforms save as the result of direct popular legislation and the increasing popular control of executive officials. Since, however, the Presidential election of 1912 placed the Democrats in power, all this has changed. An entirely different emphasis has been given to the progressive movement. The agitation in favor of direct popular government has subsided. Its advocates have been placed on the defensive. Wisconsin, which used to be considered the most progressive state in the Union, refused at the last election to adopt a system of popular legislation. It looks as if the critics of direct government may be right, and that instead of being gradually worked into

the fabric of the American political system, it may degenerate into a lifeless and embarrassing survival.

No one can prove that direct popular government in this country is or is not on the wane. Anticipations as to the extent of its adoption in the future will be determined very largely by convictions of its intrinsic value. If we believe that direct legislation has no roots in the history of the American political institutions and no essential function to perform in a democratic representative system, the recent popularity of the initiative and referendum will seem like an ephemeral aberration. But if a larger participation by the electorate in the actual work of government is considered to be, as it very well may, the natural consummation of three generations of state political development, the subsidence of the agitation in its favor is bound to be regarded as only a temporary check. And a conviction to this effect would be very much strengthened in case one believed that a measure of direct popular government were necessary to the vitality of a thoroughly democratic political system and to the wholesome popularization of a program of social legislation.

Such is indeed our own opinion. Our belief in direct government is derived from our faith in political democracy. Under modern social and economic conditions political democracy will not work unless it rests on a foundation of direct popular government. This approval of direct legislation is not equiv-
alent, as so many critics of the "I. &

R." have assumed, to a belief in the doctrine of an all-devouring popular sovereignty. It is based upon essentially practical considerations. The exercise within definite limits of direct legislative functions by the electorate is indispensable to the safety, the balance and the power of self-improvement of a modern social democracy.

A measure of direct government is necessary in order to bring home to the people the extent and importance of their ultimate political responsibility. Under an essentially representative system, such as that of English parliamentary government, the effective political power and responsibility is delegated by the electorate to the legislature. Under an essentially legalistic system, such as that of our Federal Constitution, effective political responsibility is entrusted by the electorate to a supposedly adequate and righteous body of law. Some such delegation of power by the electorate to a comparatively permanent body of law and to legislative and administrative representatives is indispensable, but in the case of the English and American Federal systems it has been carried too far. The sense of popular political responsibility and the ability to use popular political power wisely is strengthened less by the delegation of authority than by its exercise. The electorate must learn how to govern chiefly by virtue of its participation in the work of government.

The conclusive argument in favor of direct government is consequently

educational. The conclusive objection to a representative or legalistic system which does not place occasional responsibility for important legislative decisions on the electorate is its dubious educational effect. A democracy is not educated up to the level of its responsibilities by decisions made by its representatives, or by principles of "legal morals" established by its forebears, or by the power of vetoing unjust legislation conferred on judges. Undoubtedly an efficient representative system and regular constitutional forms are as essential to the collective political education of a democracy as is a certain measure of direct government. But if a political democracy is to learn its business it must participate directly in the transaction of its business. It must supplement its representative institutions and its constitutional forms with some method of direct political action, which will bring home to the people a sufficient sense of the stern reality of their ultimate political responsibility.

Direct government should not, how-

ever, be adopted in an inflexible and dogmatic spirit. Democrats can afford to leave to their opponents any advantage which may be derived from the possession of political principles which are so completely true that they demand nothing less than unquestioning acquiescence. The initiative and the referendum are merely specific methods which are being tried in order to assist the fulfillment of certain democratic purposes. If democracy is to survive, these purposes must be measurably fulfilled; but there is nothing sacred about any particular method of seeking their fulfillment. Various plans must be tried and their success appraised. It is a matter for patient experimentation and for disinterested and careful scrutiny of results. In the following paper the results of direct popular government for one year are analyzed and studied; and if our present plans are carried out, the study will be repeated in the future whenever the results of further experience are available.

THE EDITORS.

ANALYSIS OF THE POPULAR VOTE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS IN THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1914

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

REFERENDUM elections are not spectacular. In fact they are frequently quite dull. And so no flaming headlines announced last November that seven million people, scattered through thirty-one states, were voting upon two hundred and eighty-six constitutional and legislative measures. This election was an expression of popular will quite without parallel. It presented both extremes of the direct legislation movement and all the degrees between. In the number of measures voted upon and in geographical extent it ranged from a single statute in Maine to California's medley of forty-eight proposals. It took place in every kind of political atmosphere: the "solidity" of the South, the partisan reactions of Wisconsin and Ohio, progressivism and woman suffrage in the far West. It covered in subject matter everything from the regulation of a dog-tax to state-wide prohibition. In the degree of popular interest elicited it ran from fourteen per cent of those voting for candidates in Georgia to one hundred and four per cent in Washington. Every mechanism for giving expression to the voter's will was employed, from the cautious advisory referendum by which the people

of Vermont help their legislators to make up their minds, to the untrammelled initiative and referendum of Oregon. The "dangers of minority rule" were glaringly apparent in Georgia, where nine and a half per cent of the voters amended the constitution to create Barrows county. In Minnesota, on the other hand, the old-fashioned constitutional strait-jacket which requires that a proposal in order to be adopted must receive a majority of all the votes cast in the election, prevented the success of an initiative and referendum amendment which was approved by a majority of four to one, sixty-one per cent of the total vote having been cast on it.* The temper of the people caused the adoption of every measure in some states, and in others the rejection of every measure. It would be strange if such an election did not arouse the interest even of those who have been indifferent to the progress and problems of direct legislation.

The accompanying map affords a panoramic view of the whole election, and shows the unanimity with which the states participated. Even the Southern states picked out the year 1914 in which to do their constitu-

*In Minnesota, Oklahoma and Wyoming it is necessary in order to carry a measure that a majority of all the votes cast in the election be cast for it. In Oklahoma, however, this rule applies only to initiated measures.

tional tinkering, although the trivial and perfunctory character of most of the sixty-one measures submitted proves that the forces of progressivism have made no serious campaign south of the Mason and Dixon Line. It is, of course, natural that the most fertile source of proposals should be the initiative and referendum states.† Here there are three ways of getting a measure on the ballot—submission by the legislature, the initiative and the referendum. Here, moreover, popular law-making has become something of a habit, for it is not with the “weary voters” of these states that ex-President Taft sympathizes as they “tramp frequently to the polls in a struggle for incessant changes in the laws.” These fourteen states met all possible expectations by the generous contribution of one hundred and seventy-seven proposals. One hundred and fifty-two

of these came from the same states which submitted one hundred and twenty-one measures to the people in the general election two years ago, showing a net increase of twenty-five per cent. With the single exception of the Middle Atlantic group, however, every section of the country was represented in the list of thirty-one states in which a referendum ballot was presented to the voter.

Now who is responsible? Is the legislature unloading its work on the people or are the people usurping the functions of the legislature? These are very significant questions to ask regarding direct legislation, for the critics of the system urge that its whole tendency is to destroy representative government and to emasculate the legislature. The accompanying table casts some light upon this matter by showing the origin of the measures.

ORIGIN OF PROPOSALS

		AMENDMENTS		STATUTES			TOTAL
		Init'v.	Legis.	Init'v.	Ref'd'm.	Legis.	
I. & R. States.	Ariz.....	5	....	10	4	....	19
	Cal.....	8	22	9	4	5	48
	Col.....	5	3	3	5	....	16
	Me.....	....	....	....	1	....	1
	Mich.....	1	3	....	....	....	4
	Mo.....	3	8	....	4	....	15
	Mont.....	....	2	3	1	....	6
	Neb.....	1	3	....	3	....	7
	Nev.....	....	2	....	....	....	2
	Ohio.....	4	....	....	....	....	4
	Okla.....	4	....	....	....	....	4
	Ore.....	10	8	9	....	2	29
	S. D.....	....	8	....	3	1	12
	Wash.....	....	1	7	2	....	10
		41	60	41	27	8	177

†The states having direct legislation in November, 1914, were Arkansas, Arizona, California, Colorado, Maine, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Washington. The results of the special referendum election held in Arkansas in September, 1914, are not considered in this discussion.

ANALYSIS OF VOTE

Origin of Proposals Continued

		AMENDMENTS			STATUTES		TOTAL
		Init'v.	Legis.	Init'v.	Ref'd'm.	Legis.	
States Not Having I. & R.	Fla.....	3	....	....	....	....	3
	Ga.....	9	....	....	....	....	9
	Idaho.....	3	....	....	....	....	3
	Ind.....	....	....	....	....	2	2
	Kans.....	2	....	....	....	....	2
	La.....	17	....	....	....	....	17
	Mass.....	....	....	....	....	4	4
	Minn.....	11	....	....	....	....	11
	Miss.....	9	....	....	....	....	9
	N. M.....	3	....	....	....	....	3
	N. C.....	10	....	....	....	....	10
	N. D.....	7	....	....	....	....	7
	S. C.....	10	....	....	....	....	10
	Tex.....	3	....	....	....	....	3
	Vt.....	....	....	....	....	2	2
	Wis.....	10	....	....	....	....	10
	Wyo.....	4	....	....	....	....	4
		101	....	....	....	8	109
Grand totals.....		41	161	41	27	16	286
<i>I. and R. States</i>					1912	1914	
Submitted by legislature.....					27	68	
Submitted by people.....					94	109	
Percentage submitted by people.....					77%	61%	

It appears that roughly two-thirds of the proposals voted upon in the direct legislation states were placed upon the ballot through initiative or referendum petitions. It will also be seen that this represents a slightly smaller proportion of measures of popular origin than in 1912. Thus, while the responsibility for the propositions presented

still rests mainly with the people, the legislature may lay claim to some share, perhaps an increasingly important share, of that responsibility.

The result of the voting on the measures submitted to the people last fall was unexpected and devastating. The scope and degree of this reaction appears in the accompanying table:

RESULTS OF VOTE

		No. Meas.	Adop.	Rej.	% Rej.
I. & R. States.	Ariz.....	19	9	10	52.6
	Cal.....	48	27	21	43.7
	Col.....	16	4	12	75.
	Me.....	1	1	....	....
	Mich.....	4	1	3	75.
	Mo.....	15	....	15	100.
	Mont.....	6	2	4	66.6
	Neb.....	7	4	3	43.
	Nev.....	2	2	....	....
	Ohio.....	4	1	3	75.
	Okla.....	4	....	4	100.
	Ore.....	29	4	25	86.2
	S. D.....	12	1	11	91.6
	Wash.....	10	2	8	80.
		177	58	119	67.2

Results of Vote Continued

	No. Meas.	Adop.	Rej.	% Rej.
Fla.....	3	3	....	....
Ga.....	9	9	....	....
Idaho.....	3	....	3	100.
Ind.....	2	....	2	100.
Kans.....	2	1	1	50.
La.....	17	14	3	17.6
Mass.....	4	4	....	....
Minn.....	11	1	10	90.9
Miss.....	9	8	1	11.1
N. M.....	3	3	....	....
N. C.....	10	....	10	100.
N. D.....	7	6	1	14.3
S. C.....	10	10	....	....
Tex.....	3	....	3	100.
Vt.....	2	2	....	....
Wis.....	10	....	10	100.
Wyo.....	4	1	3	75.
	109	62	47	43.1
Grand totals.....	286	120	166	58.

Leaving out of account measures of local significance or very minor importance, and making allowance for the proposals which failed in Minnesota, Oklahoma and Wyoming, in spite of favorable majorities* a fair sixty per cent of all measures were defeated. It is interesting to note that the group of states not having the initiative and referendum rejected forty-three and one-tenth per cent of all the measures submitted to them, while the direct legislation states themselves, where the spirit of change has heretofore seemed

more or less resistless, rejected sixty-seven per cent.

A considerable number of all the proposals submitted to the people may fairly be called progressive. At least, so they would seem to the casual observer, and therefore to the voter. This is using the word progressive quite without partisan connotation, to include those proposals which, in the opinion of their particular proponents or of mankind at large, aim at the betterment of society, morally, politically, economically or socially.

PROGRESSIVE MEASURES BY CLASSIFICATION

POLITICAL

Calling constitutional convention.....	Cal.	Leg. Stat.	Rej.
	Ind.	Leg. Stat.	Rej.
	S. D.	Leg. Stat.	Rej.
Direct legislation			
Initiative and referendum.....	Minn.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Miss.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	N. D.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
—With recall.....	Tex.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Wis.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Initiative as to constitution.....	N. D.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
Ref'dm as to constitution on petition.....	Wis.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Ref'dm as to constitution by one legislature.....	Wis.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Protecting and elaborating I. and R.....	Ariz.	Init. Amend.	Adop.
	Col.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.

* See note page 4.

Progressive Measures by Classification Continued

Home rule for cities.....	Wis.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Judicial procedure, reform of.....	Cal.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
Judicial review limited.....	Minn.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Juries, unanimity rule abolished.....	Col.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	Miss.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Neb.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
Non-partisan nomination for constitutional con- vention delegate.....	Cal.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Non-partisan judicial nomination.....	Ore.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
Party enrollment as prerequisite for voting abolished.....	Mass.	Leg. Stat.	Adop.
Preferential voting.....	Cal.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Primary			
Preferential.....	Vt.	Leg. Stat.	Adop.
Direct.....	Cal.*	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Ore.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
	S. D.	Ref. Stat.	Rej.
	Vt.	Leg. Stat.	Adop.
Proportional representation and election of legislature at large.....	Ore.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
Recall.....	Kans.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	La.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Minn.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Wis.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Tex.*	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Unicameral state legislature.....	Okla.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	Ore.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
Special legislation restricted.....	N. C.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Special charters to corps. restricted.....	N. C.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Special charters to cities restricted.....	N. C.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Terms of office lengthened.....	Ga.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Ga.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Idaho	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Minn.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Miss.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Neb.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Ore.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	S. D.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	S. D.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Woman suffrage.....	Mo.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Mont.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Neb.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	Nev.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	N. D.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Ohio	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	S. D.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Women to hold certain offices.....	La.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Women allowed to be jurors.*.....	Col.*	Init. Amend.	Rej.
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL			
Anti-blacklisting.....	Ariz.	Init. Stat.	Adop.
Assumption of risks doctrine abolished.....	Col.	Ref. Stat.	Adop.
"Blue-sky laws".....	Cal.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
	Cal.	Ref. Stat.	Adop.
	Wash.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
Conservation and reclamation.....	Ariz.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	Ariz.	Init. Stat.	Adop.
	Cal.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	La.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Mich.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.

*Part of another measure.

Progressive Measures by Classification Continued

	Minn.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
	Ore.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	S. D.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Tex.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Wash.	Ref. Stat.	Rej.
Employment agencies, state regulation of.....	Wash.	Init. Stat.	Adop.
Eight-hour day, universal.....	Cal.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
	Ore.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	Wash.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
Eight-hour day for women, and room ventilation.....	Ore.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
Excess condemnation of land.....	Cal.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Wis.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Farm loan.....	Minn.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Mont.	Ref. Stat.	Adop.
First aid to employees.....	Wash.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
Full crew law.....	Mo.	Ref. Stat.	Rej.
Graduated extra tax.....	Ore.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
Minimum wage.....	Cal.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
Municipal ownership.....	Cal.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Old age and mothers' pensions.....	Ariz.	Init. Stat.	Adop.
One day of rest in seven.....	Cal.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
Pensions for the blind.....	Mo.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Probation of criminals.....	Col.	Init. Stat.	Rej.
Public employees, Saturday half holiday.....	Mass.	Leg. Stat.	Adop.
Vacations for.....	Mass.	Leg. Stat.	Adop.
Pensions for.....	Mass.	Leg. Stat.	Adop.
"Right to work" bill.....	Ore.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
Taxation, exemption of improvements.....	Cal.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
State insurance.....	Wis.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
	Wis.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Workmen's compensation.....	Mont.	Ref. Stat.	Rej.
	Neb.	Ref. Stat.	Adop.
	Wyo.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.

MORAL QUESTIONS

Prohibition.....	Ariz.	Init. Amend.	Adop.
	Cal.	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	Col.	Init. Amend.	Adop.
	Ohio	Init. Amend.	Rej.
	Ore.	Init. Amend.	Adop.
	Wash.	Init. Stat.	Adop.
Prohibiting prize fights.....	Cal.	Init. Stat.	Adop.
Regulating prize fights by state commission.....	Mont.	Ref. Stat.	Rej.
Red-light abatement.....	Cal.	Ref. Stat.	Adop.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS ON PROGRESSIVE MEASURES

TYPE OF MEASURE	Total	Adop.	Rej.	% Adop.
Constitutional amendments.....	75	23	52	30.6
Statutes.....	35	17	18	48.5
All measures.....	110	40	70	36.3

ORIGIN OF MEASURES

Proposed or referred by people.....	44	16	28	36.3
Submitted by legislature.....	66	24	42	36.3
Direct legislation states.....	68	22	46	32.3

<i>Summary of Results on Progressive Measures Continued</i>	Total	Adop.	Rej.	% Adop.
Other states.	42	18	24	42.8
In direct legislation states.				
Proposed or referred by people.	44	13	31	29.5
Submitted by legislature.	24	7	17	29.1
POLITICAL MEASURES.	57	17	40	29.8
Proposed or referred by people.	12	2	10	16.6
Submitted by legislature.	45	15	30	33.3
Direct legislation states.	27	6	21	22.2
Other states.	30	11	19	36.6
In direct legislation states.				
Proposed or referred by people.	12	2	10	16.6
Submitted by legislature.	15	4	11	26.6
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MEASURES.	44	17	27	38.6
Proposed or referred by people.	23	8	15	34.7
Submitted by legislature.	21	9	12	42.8
Direct legislation states.	32	10	22	31.2
Other states.	12	7	5	58.3
In direct legislation states.				
Proposed or referred by people.	23	8	15	34.7
Submitted by legislature.	9	2	7	22.2

Nearly two-thirds of all the progressive measures came from the direct legislation states, and two-thirds of these were either proposed or referred by the people. But regardless of where they were voted upon or who proposed them, the ban of popular disapproval fell upon them with deadly uniformity. Two out of every three were smothered with hostile votes. The initiative and referendum states might seem, at first blush, to have been in rather worse humor than the others. This is to be explained, however, by the fact that they were voting upon the most radical proposals that there were, and that even the attractiveness of reform measures is subject to the law of diminishing returns. Surely no one would regard Georgia as more progressive than Oregon because she prohibits special legislation at the same election in which Oregon rejects a proposal for a unicameral legislature and the Socialists' "right to work" bill. In fact it is a

rather striking thing that there were no groups of states that loomed up as distinctly more progressive or reactionary than the others. People everywhere seemed to be in about the same mood.

A little more than half of these progressive measures provided for changes of a political character. Less than half arose in the direct legislation states, and of these the most radical half came from the people. There seemed, however, to be little popular desire to tamper with the mechanism of government. The three proposals to call constitutional conventions were rejected, together with four of the five amendments providing for the initiative and referendum. Home rule for cities, proportional representation, and direct primaries met a similar fate. From two-thirds to three-fourths of the political changes suggested were defeated at the polls.

Certain other progressive measures,

something less than half, dealt with economic and social problems. In the main these were proposals for promoting the welfare of certain classes of society, and so it is not surprising that all but a dozen of them were put on the ballot by initiative or referendum petitions. Agriculture had its farm loan bill, and labor its minimum wage and universal eight-hour day, while all the people could claim a direct interest in state insurance or old age pensions. But although the voter felt only too keenly the rigors of economic depression, these suggested measures of reform did not, as a rule, strike him as the appropriate remedies for the situation. Only forty per cent of them were adopted.

Considerable interest attaches to the results of the voting on the moral questions presented to the people. With the exception of Ohio, where the tem-

perance question comes up perennially, none but the states of the far West faced these issues. In each case the people themselves raised the question. In every state where the prohibition question was presented it overshadowed everything else in popular interest, and in Washington more citizens voted upon it than voted for United States Senator. It is worth noting that upon all but two of these moral questions the women had an opportunity to express their views at the polls and that three of the woman suffrage states went dry and one went wet. Whether the results would have been appreciably different without the women's vote is left to the reader's own conjecture.

But not all the proposals voted upon were progressive. The following group contains measures which may be called reactionary.

REACTIONARY MEASURES

Election of judges	Miss.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
Limiting initiative and referendum	Mo.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Increasing size of legislation	Miss.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
Long ballot for counties	Fla.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
Increasing percentage for city referendum	S. D.	Leg. Amend.	Rej.
Rotation in office, long ballot for counties	N. M.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.
for state executive heads together with limitation of terms of office	N. M.	Leg. Amend.	Adop.

These either retrace forward steps previously taken or else clog the wheels of efficiency. It is not surprising that the list is small. In a certain sense it is only surprising that there is a list at all, for it would hardly seem that the reactionary would have the audacity to appeal to the people as his ally. The long ballot and rotation in office have never completely lost their popular ap-

peal, however, for there are still many communities in which the belief prevails that there can never be too much democracy. These proposals are here classified as reactionary because of the fast-spreading conviction that it is a backward step to compel the people to cripple the efficiency of their government by clumsily getting in their own way. The only two measures in the

list which would in any way limit the power of the people were defeated. No reactionary proposal was adopted in any really progressive state.

The voting on one or two minor groups of measures takes on added interest by reason of the surcharged economic and political atmosphere in which the election was held. Financial measures were submitted in goodly numbers, for this is always a prolific subject of referenda. The people are never strikingly generous, and the fall of 1914 was a particularly unfavorable time to ask for money. It is a matter of surprise, therefore, that the purse-strings were not drawn tighter than they were, and that ten out of a total of thirty-one proposals for bond issues and appropriations were passed. In like manner four of the twelve proposed tax-levies were sanctioned, together with five of the seventeen proposals for a complete overhauling of the tax systems in various states. Eight requests for increases in the salaries of public officials were referred to the people by the legislatures. The two which increased the salaries of governors and state executive officials were carried, but the six which raised the pay of state legislators were rejected with a decisiveness almost vindictive. This situation, which is not unusual, presents a rather serious problem. If the people persist in refusing to pay any more than they feel their legislators to be worth, and those legislators continue to be worth about what the people pay, it is hard to see

how the vicious deadlock is to be broken. In the by-and-large however, in spite of economic depression, financial measures received about the same treatment as other groups of proposals.

The twenty-odd proposals which involved in purpose or effect the centralization of governmental powers met approximately the same fate. These measures provided mostly for the creating of state commissions of various kinds or the enlarging of the powers of those already created. All but three of these proposals were submitted in the direct legislation states and a large majority originated with the people. They represent a movement naturally incident to the modern multiplication of state functions. A prejudice against this sort of concentration of power is apt to exist in states which have not had actual experience with commissions of proved efficiency or which have had any experience with commissions of proved inefficiency, and it may well be that the defeat of two-thirds of these proposals indicates no more than the normal degree of opposition to them.

The courts and the administration of justice claimed some share of the voter's attention. Twenty-three proposals of widely varying character were made, aimed to remedy real or imagined abuses. Some of these were ill-advised and have already been described as reactionary, but they all reflect a more or less significant protest in fourteen states against our present machinery of justice. Two of the three

attempts to abolish the unanimity rule for verdicts in civil suits were successful, and two-thirds of the other measures were adopted. The people seemed to look more favorably upon this sort of reform than upon any other.

The tendency to "clutter up" state constitutions with matter purely legislative in character is a phenomenon which most thinking people view with grave concern. It began as the expression of a profound popular distrust of the state legislatures and a popular desire to put things of value beyond legislative reach. The practice continues, partly for the same reasons and partly because the mere fact that it has begun makes it exceedingly difficult to stop. Elaborate and detailed provisions are written into the state constitutions (witness the fifteen closely printed pages of corporation law in the constitution of Oklahoma) and there they must remain until the people in their sovereign power pass amendments which in their turn must be revised by still other amendments. Thus Minnesota, for example, is doing penance for past sins, and faces the necessity of getting a majority of all the voters to repeal a provision foolishly written into the state constitution requiring the annual report of the state treasurer to be published in a St. Paul newspaper. There is no elas-

ticity, no easy method of keeping this misplaced legislation abreast of the times or of getting rid of it when it grows obsolete. The people in their clumsy way have to keep on legislating about these matters simply because they have started, and the vicious circle is complete. And so it may very well be that many of the proposals which should have been enacted into statute law were put into state constitutions last fall, not because the people felt that their being there served any useful purpose in itself, but because it seemed the only feasible way to fit certain new ideas into the existing constitutional mosaic. There is room, of course, for a wide difference of opinion as to just which of the two hundred and one constitutional amendments presented were really legislative in character. The list presented here is too small rather than too large, for the aim has been to make it include only those amendments the statutory character of which could not be questioned. It will be noticed that while this practice still continues in some of the most progressive states, the states of the South are the greatest offenders and seem quite content, for example, to see the regulation of automobile licenses and the names of state institutions remain matters of constitutional law.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS OF STATUTORY CHARACTER

- | | |
|------|---|
| Cal. | Deposit of public money.
Extra sessions of district court of appeals.
Exposition contribution by Alameda County.
Place of payment of bonds and interest. |
| Col. | Enlarging powers of state board of equalization. |

Constitutional Amendments of Statutory Character Continued

Ga.	Abolishing justice courts in Savannah.
Idaho	Taking superintendent of instruction off land board.
La.	Taxation of foreign banks and corporations. Drainage district bonds to be sold at 90% of par. Marriage limit date for widows of Confederate veterans. Taxes for fire department and buildings. Amending auto licenses. Amending New Orleans school bonds. Additional judges for certain districts (2 measures).
Mich.	Relating to fraternal beneficiary societies.
Minn.	Publication of state treasurer's report in St. Paul newspaper. Dog tax and indemnity for injuries from dogs.
Mo.	Raising tax rate of cities for subway construction.
N. C.	Substitution of "War between states" in constitution. Six months' public school term.
N. D.	Changing name of state blind asylum.
S. C.	Changing name of state institutions (2 measures). Relating to local improvements in particular cities and bonded debt therefor (7 measures).
S. D.	Reducing interest on school loans.
Wyo.	Special tax on live stock and bounty on predatory animals.

In this, as in most referendum elections, the people were compelled to lose dignity by voting upon purely local or trivial matters. These measures were sometimes constitutional and sometimes legislative in character. They dealt with all kinds of subjects, from the affairs of individual counties or cities to the curriculum of a South Dakota Normal School. They are of course the *reductio ad absurdum* of direct legislation. It may

be called to mind, however, that a measure to prohibit fishing in Rogue River save with a hook and line was a fair sample of nearly half of the thirty-odd matters upon which the people of Oregon voted in 1910. The list of odds and ends here collected seems in reality to indicate that, outside the Southern states, the referendum ballot is ceasing to usurp the functions of the state legislature and the town council.

MEASURES OF LOCAL AND MINOR SIGNIFICANCE

Ariz.	Changing county seats. Creating new counties. Electrical construction. Creating Miami County.
Col.	Regulating fruit commission merchants.
Ga.	Legislative representation of new counties. Creating four counties (4 measures).
La.	New Orleans park construction.
N. C.	Removing obsolete sections from constitution.
Ore.	Dentistry regulation. Consolidation of corporation and insurance departments.
S. D.	Fixing course of study at Aberdeen Normal School.
See also many of the measures in the table last preceding.	

It would be quite natural for any casual observer to connect the rather general rejection of progressive measures last fall with the political re-

action which swept the country and the gloomy fate of the Progressive party. The same avalanche which buried the La Follette regime in Wisconsin carried with it every one of ten progressive amendments. But on the other hand only one third of the progressive measures submitted in California were adopted in an election in which the Progressives made a net gain of sixty-two per cent. There is lack of evidence that the popular mind linked up these progressive measures with the "Bull Moose." A careful analysis of the result seems to indicate that while progressive measures and progressive candidates fell by the same blow they fell independently.

How much is the voter interested in all this? This is perhaps the most vital question that people ask about popular voting on measures. By its answer the whole system is in large measure justi-

fied or condemned, and charges of minority rule and class legislation stand or fall. The tabulation here given answers that question in no uncertain manner. It shows that the voters were interested, that seventy-eight per cent of those who voted for Governors or Congressmen voted on the important proposals, that sixty-eight per cent voted, as a rule, on everything, that sixty-one per cent voted even on the most trivial matters. The initiative and referendum states, so far from fainting under the burden of direct legislation, seem to face their task with increasing zeal, while the results in the eight woman suffrage states involved indicate that women vote upon measures with about the same degree of interest that men do. On the whole we seem to be in no very great danger of being ruled by radical minorities in these referendum elections.

SIZE OF VOTE ON MEASURES AS COMPARED WITH VOTE FOR GOVERNOR OR CONGRESSMEN

	Average percentage of total vote	Lowest percentage of total vote	Highest percentage of total vote
Ariz.....	68.8	56.8	93.5
Cal.....	65.9	41.1	96.
Col.....	51.1	38.9	91.3
Fla.....	.....	.....	.....
Ga.....	22.6	14.4	26.3
Idaho.....	61.4	53.2	70.3
Ind.....	87.8	87.7	87.9
Kans.....	66.2	61.2	71.1
La.....	59.4	55.7	63.2
Me.....	73.7	73.7	73.7
Mass.....	78.1	74.1	82.1†
Mich.....	84.1	82.9	87.2
Minn.....	57.1	50.1	64.9
Miss.....	.....	.....	.....
Mo.....	73.9	69.7	81.6
Mont.....	94.4	89.4	99.5
Neb.....	75.5	69.3	90.
Nev.....	72.6	62.6	82.6
N. M.....	72.9	66.2	83.4

†Returns on only two measures out of four.

Size of Vote on Measures as Compared with Vote for Governor or Congressmen Continued

	Average percentage of total vote	Lowest percentage of total vote	Highest percentage of total vote
N. C.....	56.7	56.2	62.8
N. D.....	74.5	54.2	78.3
Ohio.....	84.5	68.7	97.4
Okla.....	76.2	70.	95.6
Ore.....	80.7	72.7	92.8
S. C.....	60.6	59.8	66.4
S. D.....	38.4	31.1	45.6
Tex.....	87.9	77.5	104.5
Vt.....	67.8	65.1	70.1
Wash.....	61.5	56.2	66.2
Wis.....	68.7	61.4	78.7
Wyo.....	67.2	56.8	86.3
Woman suffrage states.*.....	76.1	67.1	91.3
I. and R. States in 1914.....	72.	68.	82.
I. and R. states in 1912.....			

*The woman suffrage states are Ariz., Cal., Col., Idaho, Kans., Ore., Wash., Wyo.

Another significant question: What is the voter most interested in? With a view to answering it the measures voted upon in the different states have been arranged in the appendix in the order of the size of the total vote cast upon them. As has already been suggested, the moral questions seem more vital to the people than any others. There is nothing so absorbing as prohibition. Then comes woman suffrage, standing first in five out of seven states. These two measures, always hotly contested, arrest the attention of citizens who are indifferent to everything else. Next in order is a widely various group of economic and social problems, measures understood more or less clearly even by the ignorant, measures affecting the conditions in which men live and do their work, measures over which the interests of different classes of society are brought to clash. But what of the proposals for political change, direct government

and all the devices of the new democracy and readjustments of the old? It may seem surprising that the initiative and referendum is the only one of these measures which elicits a uniformly high degree of popular interest. It is a little hard to understand why the voters of Minnesota should be more interested in regulating a dog tax than in the recall of elective officials. Perhaps these proposals for political change are somewhat lacking in human interest; they may frequently be rather hard to understand. Whatever the reason, certain it is that they are apt to be forgotten in the presence of problems of moral and economic significance. The measures which interested the people least were, as a rule, those which were local or technical in character. There seems to be a discernable tendency on the part of the voter not to express an opinion upon questions he does not understand.

Many caustic statements are made

about the voter's inability to discriminate among measures presented to him. These comments are usually called forth by the failure of the people to vote as the critic himself would have done. But the real test of popular intelligence is not whether the people vote yes or no on a given measure but whether they fully realize the significance of that vote, not what their will is but whether they so use the referendum ballot as to give expression to that will. Viewed in this light the popular voting on measures last November cannot be called unintelligent. A scanning of the vote on separate measures discloses an almost total absence of that tendency to treat all propositions alike, which betrays an indifferent ignorance. The more exacting the task imposed upon the people, the more painstakingly and discreetly did they perform it. It was certainly no small achievement for the citizenship of California in one election to choose a Progressive governor, a Democratic United States Senator, and carefully to select for passage twenty-seven of forty-eight highly various proposals. And so while perhaps lamenting the fact that it seemed good to the voter to check the onward march of progressivism, we must pay tribute to the clear-headed consistency with which he did the job.

It is not possible to close the analysis of this most remarkable election with a neat table of precise and infallible laws by which we may explain how the people voted this time and prophesy how they will vote next time. The people do not vote according to general rules. The voter refuses to stay classified and labelled, and persists, in a most annoying manner, in jumping out of the pigeon-holes in which he is so carefully placed by the man who is trying to create a systematic philosophy of direct government. It has, however, been possible to see the sort of measures in which he is most interested and to discover that they interested him a great deal. And above everything else it has been impossible not to realize that the voter's mood was one of profound suspicion. It was no time for experiments. He preferred to combat the gloomy spectre, hard times, not only with the aid of servants he knew, but with weapons he had been accustomed to using. Hence the unhappy fate of most progressive measures. The voter's suspicions may have been unfounded, and in a few years he will probably want most of the things he rejected last November; but whether his judgment was good or bad, he justified the referendum ballot by using it to give himself precisely what he wanted.

ANALYSIS OF VOTE

COMPLETE LIST OF MEASURES BY STATES

(Note: When a measure was defeated, "D" follows the total)

ARIZONA

	YES	NO	TOTAL
1. Prohibition.....Init. Amend.	25,887	22,743	48,630
2. Prohibition elections limited to 8-year periods.....Init. Amend.	16,059	26,437	42,496 D
3. 80% citizenship act. Any company or individual who employs more than five persons regardless of kind or class of work or sex of workers shall employ not less than 80% qualified electors or native-born citizens of the United States.....Init. Stat.	25,017	14,323	39,340
4. Old age and mothers' pensions.....Init. Stat.	25,827	12,394	38,221
5. Abolishing capital punishment.....Init. Stat.	18,129	19,381	37,510 D
6. \$5,000,000 bonds for state highways.....Init. Amend.	13,215	23,499	36,714 D
7. Creating Miami county.....Init. Stat.	5,878	30,055	35,933 D
8. Anti-blacklisting.....Init. Stat.	18,207	17,444	35,651
9. Equal system of taxation—whereby owner or agent of real or personal property shall assess his or her own property, the state of Arizona reserving the right to take over the property at its assessed valuation.....Init. Stat.	13,032	21,277	34,300 D
10. Appropriation for California Exposition, 1915.....Init. Stat.	10,995	22,434	33,429 D
11. Three-cent fare act.....Ref. Stat.	20,968	12,210	33,178
12. Initiative and referendum measures not to be vetoed, amended or repealed.....Init. Amend.	16,567	16,484	33,051
13. Creating state reclamation service.....Init. Amend.	14,701	17,994	32,695 D
14. Development of resources of Arizona. Establishing contract system, state banking system and printing plant.....Init. Stat.	16,754	15,853	32,607
15. Changing of county seats.....Ref. Stat.	14,255	17,740	31,995 D
16. Creation of new counties.....Ref. Stat.	10,756	21,152	31,908 D
17. Electrical construction — regulating the placing, use and maintenance of electric poles, wires, cables and appliances and providing the punishment for the violation thereof.....Init. Stat.	18,871	12,256	31,127
18. Semi-annual payment of taxes.....Init. Stat.	13,842	15,934	29,776 D
19. Concerning pardons and reprieves and creating board of pardons and paroles..Ref. Stat.	15,425	13,554	28,979

CALIFORNIA

1. Prohibition.....Init. Amend.	355,536	524,781	890,317 D
2. Eight hour law.....Init. Stat.	242,692	568,881	811,573 D
3. Prohibition election prohibited for 8 years..Init. Amend.	355,394	435,701	791,095 D
4. Abolition of poll-tax.....Init. Amend.	405,375	374,487	779,862
5. Red-light abatement.....Ref. Stat.	402,629	352,821	755,450
6. One day of rest in seven.....Init. Stat.	290,619	457,890	748,509 D
7. Prohibiting prize fights.....Init. Stat.	413,741	327,569	741,310
8. Non-sale of game.....Ref. Stat.	353,295	361,446	714,741 D
9. Drugless practice, creating state board of..Init. Stat.	223,217	462,355	685,572 D
10. Suspension of prohibition amendment in case it carries.....Init. Amend.	448,648	226,688	675,336
11. Minimum wage.....Leg. Amend.	379,311	295,109	674,420
12. Exempting vessels from taxation.....Leg. Amend.	359,176	301,969	661,145
13. University of California building bond act..Init. Stat.	413,020	239,332	652,352
14. Qualifications of voters at bond elections..Init. Amend.	312,193	337,951	650,144 D

Complete List of Measures by States Continued

	YES	NO	TOTAL
15. Local taxation exemption. {Authorizes any county or municipality to exempt from taxation for local purposes in whole or in part any one or more of the following classes of property: improvements in, on, or over land; shipping; household furniture; live stock; merchandise; machinery; tools; farming implements; vehicles; other personal property except franchises; provides that ordinance or resolution making such exemption shall be subject to referendum; and requires that taxes upon property not exempt from taxation shall be uniform.	Leg. Amend. 267,618	375,634	643,252 D
16. Voting by absent electors.	Init. Stat. 244,855	390,337	635,192 D
17. Regulating investment companies—creating state corporation department.	Ref. Stat. 343,805	288,084	631,889
18. Exempting educational institutions from taxation.	Leg. Amend. 331,549	293,721	625,270
19. Calling convention for revision of constitution.	Leg. Resolut'n. 180,111	442,687	622,798 D
20. Water commission act—creating state water commission.	Ref. Stat. 309,980	301,817	611,797
21. Los Angeles state building bonds.	Init. Stat. 285,796	320,302	606,098 D
22. Regulating investment companies.	Init. Stat. 249,500	353,812	603,312 D
23. Election of United States Senators. Eliminates provision of present section prohibiting governor from being elected United States Senator during his term of office, and provides that such Senators shall be elected by the people of state in manner provided by law.	Leg. Amend. 404,283	190,969	595,252
24. Exposition contribution by Alameda county.	Leg. Amend. 390,835	202,128	592,963
25. Torrens land title law.	Init. Stat. 359,757	224,846	584,603
26. Consolidation of city and county and limited annexation of contiguous territory.	Init. Amend. 293,901	287,185	581,086
27. San Francisco harbor improvement act.	Leg. Stat. 408,633	167,589	576,222
28. Excess condemnation of land. Authorizes state, county or municipality to condemn neighboring property within its limits additional to that actually intended for proposed improvement and regulation thereof.	Leg. Amend. 259,192	307,155	566,347 D
29. City and county consolidation and annexation with consent of annexed territory.	Init. Amend. 248,112	318,224	566,336 D
30. Sacramento state building bonds.	Leg. Stat. 294,928	267,717	562,645
31. State fair grounds bonds.	Leg. Stat. 259,721	301,764	561,485 D
32. Deposit of public moneys.	Init. Amend. 236,573	324,558	561,131 D
33. Taxation of public property. Declaring taxable all lands and improvements thereon owned beyond its limits by a county or municipality.	Leg. Amend. 344,433	216,612	561,045
34. Miscarriage of justice. Providing that no judgment shall be set aside or new trial granted in any case, civil or criminal, for misdirection of jury or improper admission or rejection of evidence, or for any error as to any matter of pleading or			

Complete List of Measures by States Continued

complete List of Measures by States Continued		YES	NO	TOTAL	
	procedure, unless after examination of entire cause including the evidence, court is of opinion that error complained of resulted in miscarriage of justice.	Leg. Amend.	378,237	182,073	560,310
35.	San Francisco state building act.	Leg. Stat.	300,028	257,119	557,147
36.	Regulation of public utilities.	Leg. Amend.	291,665	260,589	552,254
37.	Legislative control of irrigation, reclamation, and drainage districts.	Leg. Amend.	335,047	216,865	551,912
38.	Constitutional conventions. Regulating nomination and election of delegates, time of meeting and submission of constitution or amendments to people.	Leg. Amend.	271,896	274,325	546,221 D
39.	Valuation of condemned public utilities by railroad commission.	Leg. Amend.	291,836	244,379	536,215
40.	Elections by plurality, preferential vote and primary.	Leg. Amend.	240,600	294,265	534,865 D
41.	Irrigation districts controlling international water systems.	Leg. Amend.	349,684	185,168	534,852
42.	Extra sessions of district courts of appeal.	Leg. Amend.	203,674	322,891	526,565 D
43.	Place of payment of bonds and interest.	Leg. Amend.	306,195	206,479	512,674
44.	Adoption and amendment of municipal charters.	Leg. Amend.	285,338	226,679	512,017
45.	Public utilities in municipalities. Authorizes any municipal corporation to acquire and operate public utilities; to grant franchises to operate the same under regulations prescribed by its organic law or otherwise by law; but eliminates from present section provisions authorizing municipal government to regulate charges for services under such franchises; and authorizes municipal corporation to furnish the product or service of public utility operated by it to users beyond its limits, to other municipalities and to inhabitants thereof without the consent of such municipalities.	Leg. Amend.	231,724	278,129	509,853 D
46.	Incorporation of public utilities.	Leg. Amend.	284,757	214,312	499,069
47.	County charters.	Leg. Amend.	261,219	225,530	486,749
48.	Assembly pay roll expenses, increase of.	Leg. Amend.	87,315	294,272	381,587 D

COLORADO

1.	Prohibition.....	Init. Amend.	129,589	118,017	247,606
2.	Annual road tax of one-half mill.....	Init. Stat.	117,146	54,844	171,990
3.	Prohibiting the initiation of a rejected measure again within six years.....	Init. Amend.	55,667	112,537	168,204 D
4.	Authorizing verdicts by three-fourths of juries in civil case and permitting women to serve as jurors, if willing.....	Init. Amend.	67,130	77,488	144,618 D
5.	Establishment of a child welfare commission.....	Init. Stat.	68,242	72,122	140,364 D
6.	To permit probation of criminals.....	Init. Stat.	62,561	68,512	131,073 D
7.	Abolishing legal doctrine of assumption of risks.....	Ref. Stat.	69,006	60,298	129,304
8.	To make newspapers public utilities.....	Init. Amend.	35,752	91,426	127,178 D
9.	Enabling 25% of voters to demand special election to submit initiated or referred measures and authorizing governor to call such elections at pleasure.....	Init. Amend.	40,643	80,977	121,620 D

Complete List of Measures by States Continued

	YES	NO	TOTAL
10. Providing that deputy sheriffs must be voters in the counties in which they are appointed.....Ref. Stat.	49,116	66,836	115,952 D
11. Enlarging the powers of the state board of equalization.....Leg. Amend.	55,987	55,275	111,262
12. To regulate fruit commission merchants...Ref. Stat.	39,448	67,454	106,902 D
13. Creating a public utility commission and prescribing its powers.....Ref. Stat.	39,703	65,182	104,885 D
14. Authorizing cities and towns to issue sixty-year bonds.....Leg. Amend.	39,589	65,206	104,795 D
15. Authorizing the pamphlet-form publication of submitted measures.....Leg. Amend.	48,301	56,259	104,560 D
16. Referring sections 35, 36 and 37 of public utilities law (No. 13 above).....Ref. Stat.	37,663	63,603	101,266 D

FLORIDA

1. Providing for election by the qualified electors in each county of the following county officers: Clerk of the Circuit Court, Sheriff, Constables, County Assessor of taxes, a Tax Collector, Superintendent of Public Instruction and a County Surveyor.....Leg. Amend.....Adopted
2. Permitting Governor to appoint all commissioned officers of the state militia, including an Adjutant-General for the state, with rank of Brigadier-General who shall be Chief-of-Staff.....Leg. Amend.....Adopted
3. Investing the judicial power of the state in a Supreme Court, Circuit Courts, Court of Record of Escambia county, Criminal Courts, County Courts, County Judges and Justices of the Peace and such other courts or commissions as the legislature may establish. No court heretofore established shall be hereby abolished...Leg. Amend.....Adopted

GEORGIA

1. Making term of county officers four years. Leg. Amend. 27,520 26,460 53,980
2. Extending terms of members of General Assembly.....Leg. Amend. 35,708 17,896 53,604
3. Authorizing legislature to abolish office of county treasurer.....Leg. Amend. 35,984 15,977 51,871
4. Creation of Bacon county.....Leg. Amend. 37,907 10,170 48,077
5. Creation of Chandler county.....Leg. Amend. 36,694 10,466 47,160
6. Creation of Evans county.....Leg. Amend. 36,669 9,789 46,458
7. Provision for legislative representation of new counties.....Leg. Amend. 34,822 10,466 45,288
8. Abolition of justice courts in Savannah...Leg. Amend. 31,615 11,173 42,788
9. Creation of Barrow county.....Leg. Amend. 19,581 10,116 29,697

IDAHO

1. Supreme Justices (five instead of three)...Leg. Amend. 17,170 60,119 77,289 D
2. Superintendent of public instruction taken off from land board.....Leg. Amend. 31,528 44,168 75,696 D
3. Four year term for all state executive officials.....Leg. Amend. 23,952 25,562 49,514 D

Complete List of Measures by States Continued

	YES	NO	TOTAL
INDIANA			
1. Calling constitutional convention.Leg. Stat.	235,140	330,947	566,087 D
2. Appropriation for centennial celebration. . .Leg. Stat.	97,718	466,700	564,418 D
KANSAS			
1. Recall of public officials.Leg. Amend.	240,240	135,630	375,870
2. Classification of property for taxation. . .Leg. Amend.	156,969	166,800	323,769 D
LOUISIANA			
1. Giving women right to hold any office connected with public educational system of state and with institutions of charity or corrections.Leg. Amend.	12,537	19,654	32,191 D
2. Taxation of foreign corporations and banks. .Leg. Amend.	24,615	7,539	32,154
3. Exempting from taxation all money in hand or on deposit and loans by Homestead Associations.Leg. Amend.	23,714	7,947	31,661
4. Changing requirements of property ownership exemption from \$1,000 to \$2,000 and changing marriage limit date for widows of Confederate veterans from January 1885 to January 1890.Leg. Amend.	23,412	8,012	31,424
5. Raising Governor's salary from \$5,000 to \$7,500.Leg. Amend.	17,772	13,510	31,282
6. Recall of certain officials elected by the people.Leg. Amend.	23,208	7,650	30,858
7. Exempting certain new canals from taxation for ten years.Leg. Amend.	21,429	9,247	30,676
8. Amending licensing automobiles.Leg. Amend.	22,544	7,723	30,267
9. Relative to support of public schools of state and the levying of taxes thereon by parishes, cities and towns under certain conditions.Leg. Amend.	21,794	8,386	30,180
10. Providing an additional judge in first, thirteenth, twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth judicial districts.Leg. Amend.	18,493	11,550	30,043
11. Creating an additional judge for thirteenth judicial district.Leg. Amend.	7,519	22,128	29,647 D
12. Authorizing New Orleans to issue \$3,000,000 worth of bonds, levy a special tax therefor and create a lake shore park. . .Leg. Amend.	7,667	21,953	29,620 D
13. Granting legislature power to create office of Assistant District Attorney in each judicial district.Leg. Amend.	17,564	11,962	29,526
14. Authorizing Board of Commissioners of the Port of New Orleans to dig and operate a canal between Lake Ponchartrain and the Mississippi River.Leg. Amend.	20,913	8,577	29,490
15. Amplifying creation of drainage districts and permitting bonds there to be sold at 90% of par.Leg. Amend.	19,368	9,366	28,734
16. Permitting additional levying of taxes for benefit of fire departments and buildings. .Leg. Amend.	17,671	10,851	28,522
17. Amending New Orleans public school bonds. .Leg. Amend.	19,876	8,489	28,365
MAINE			
1. An act to create a public utilities commission, prescribe its powers and duties, and provide for the regulation and control of public utilities.Ref. Stat.	67,365	37,008	104,373

Complete List of Measures by States Continued

MASSACHUSETTS

	YES	NO	TOTAL
1. Shall an act passed by the General Court in the year 1914, to make Saturday a half holiday, without loss of pay, for workmen and mechanics employed by or on behalf of the Commonwealth, and otherwise to regulate their employment, be accepted?.....Leg. Stat.	248,987	128,251	377,238
2. Shall party enrollment as a prerequisite for voting be abolished?.....Leg. Stat.	253,716	86,834	340,550
3. Shall an act passed by the General Court in the year 1914, entitled "An act relative to vacations of laborers employed by cities and towns" be accepted?.....Leg. Stat.			Adopted
4. Shall an act passed by the General Court in the year 1914, entitled "An act authorizing the counties of the Commonwealth to establish retirement systems for their employees" be accepted?.....Leg. Stat.			Adopted

MICHIGAN

1. Defining and regulating fraternal beneficiary societies.....Init. Amend.	92,392	291,766	384,158 D
2. Permitting voting by absentee electors....Leg. Amend.	190,510	175,948	366,458
3. Bond issue for construction and permanent improvement of public wagon roads....Leg. Amend.	164,333	202,087	366,420 D
4. Authorizing counties to issue bonds for the construction of drains and the development and improvement of agricultural lands within the county.....Leg. Amend.	165,290	199,873	365,163 D

MINNESOTA

1. State forests. Authorizing use of certain state lands for state forests.....Leg. Amend.	178,954	44,033	222,987
2. Setting apart a revolving fund from the school and swamp land funds to be used in constructing roads, ditches and fire breaks, in, through and around unsold school and swamp lands.....Leg. Amend.	162,951	47,906	*210,857 D
3. The initiative and referendum.....Leg. Amend.	168,004	41,577	*209,581 D
4. Relating to the investment of school funds and authorizing their investment and loaning on improved farm lands within the state.....Leg. Amend.	159,531	38,145	*197,676 D
5. Providing for the taxation of dogs and from the fund derived from such tax, authorizing payment of the damages sustained by the owners of other domestic animals by reason of injuries caused by dogs....Leg. Amend.	136,671	59,786	*196,457 D
6. Increasing the number of associate justices of the Supreme Court from four to six and providing that no statute shall be held unconstitutional by less than five judges, and that the clerk shall be appointed by the court.....Leg. Amend.	127,352	68,886	*196,238 D
7. Extending term of office of probate judges to four years.....Leg. Amend.	128,601	64,214	*192,815 D
8. Repealing requirement of annual publica-			

*Failed to receive a majority of all the votes cast in the election.

ANALYSIS OF VOTE

Complete List of Measures by States Continued

	YES	NO	TOTAL
tion in a St. Paul newspaper of report of state treasurer.....Leg. Amend.	131,213	58,827	*190,040 D
9. Recall of public officials.....Leg. Amend.	139,801	44,961	*184,762 D
10. Relating to number of members of Senate and House of Representatives and the basis of apportionment thereof.....Leg. Amend.	98,144	84,436	*182,580 D
11. Relating to the payment of tree bounties by the state.....Leg. Amend.	108,352	63,782	*172,134 D

MISSISSIPPI

1. Engrafting initiative and referendum into the constitution.....Leg. Amend.			Rejected
2. Reapportioning representation in the State Senate and increasing the membership of that body from 45 to 49.....Leg. Amend.			Adopted
3. Increasing number of judges of Supreme Court from 3 to 6.....Leg. Amend.			Adopted
4. Making judges elective by the people.....Leg. Amend.			Adopted
5. Repealing section providing that the Gov- ernor shall appoint Supreme Court judges.....Leg. Amend.			Adopted
6. Providing judges shall be elected from the Supreme Court districts as created by the constitution.....Leg. Amend.			Adopted
7. Fixing terms of Supreme Court judges at 8 years.....Leg. Amend.			Adopted
8. Providing that the Supreme Court may sit in two divisions with 3 judges in each division.....Leg. Amend.			Adopted
9. Allowing 9 or more jurors in civil suits to agree on a verdict and return it as the verdict of the jury.....Leg. Amend.			Adopted

MISSOURI

1. Woman suffrage.....Init. Amend.	182,257	322,463	504,720 D
2. Full crew bill relating to railroads.....Ref. Stat.	159,892	324,384	484,276 D
3. Making counties units in local option elec- tions.....Ref. Stat.	172,909	311,285	484,194 D
4. Anti-single tax. Limiting power of initia- tive and referendum.....Leg. Amend.	138,039	334,310	472,349 D
5. To pension the blind.....Leg. Amend.	214,951	255,717	470,668 D
6. 10-cent tax on \$100 property assessment for good roads.....Leg. Amend.	112,497	346,995	459,492 D
7. \$50,000,000 road bond issue.....Init. Amend.	76,574	378,530	455,104 D
8. To permit raising funds in road districts on petition of taxpayers.....Init. Amend.	80,935	373,302	454,237 D
9. Special road levy of 65 cents on each \$100 assessed valuation if voters desire.....Leg. Amend.	117,041	333,576	450,617 D
10. To increase pay of legislature.....Leg. Amend.	89,629	355,326	444,955 D
11. Abolishing office of police commissioner in cities of 300,000 population and having bi-partisan board appointed.....Ref. Stat.	131,382	306,942	438,324 D
12. Abolishing office of excise commissioners in cities of 300,000 population and hav- ing bi-partisan board appointed.....Ref. Stat.	134,449	303,757	438,206 D
13. Raising debt limit of Kansas City to permit acquisition of public utilities.....Leg. Amend.	123,596	312,651	436,247 D

*Failed to receive a majority of all the votes cast in the election.

ELECTION OF 1914

25

Complete List of Measures by States Continued

	YES	NO	TOTAL
14. To permit cities to increase tax rates for building subways.....Leg. Amend.	117,197	316,959	434,156 D
15. To simplify charter changes for cities.....Leg. Amend.	140,475	290,562	431,037 D

MONTANA

1. Workmen's compensation.....Init. Stat.	36,991	44,275	81,266 D
2. Woman suffrage.....Leg. Amend.	41,302	37,588	78,890
3. Creating state commission to regulate boxing contests.....Ref. Stat.	34,440	42,581	77,021 D
4. Consolidation of state colleges and universities.....Init. Stat.	30,465	46,311	76,776 D
5. Increase in school tax levy.....Leg. Amend.	28,703	46,265	74,968 D
6. Farm loan bill.....Init. Stat.	45,162	27,780	72,942

NEBRASKA

1. Woman suffrage.....Init. Amend.	66,883	148,110	214,993 D
2. University removal and consolidation....Ref. Stat.	90,738	100,842	191,580 D
3. Workmen's compensation.....Ref. Stat.	92,513	85,777	178,290
4. Armory appropriation.....Ref. Stat.	40,520	133,451	173,971 D
5. Providing for uniform and progressive taxation.....Leg. Amend.	88,068	82,136	170,204
6. Five-sixths of jury to render verdict in all civil cases and in all criminal cases less than felonies.....Leg. Amend.	102,891	63,596	166,487
7. Fixing term of office and salary for Governor and other state officials.....Leg. Amend.	89,385	76,013	165,398

NEVADA

1. Woman suffrage.....Leg. Amend.	10,618	7,179	17,797
2. Changing form of official oath by omitting requirement that officers swear that they never fought a duel.....Leg. Amend.	9,859	3,630	13,489

NEW MEXICO

1. All county officers shall be elected for a term of two years and after having served two consecutive terms shall be ineligible to hold any county office for two years thereafter.....Leg. Amend.	20,282	18,468	38,750
2. Revision of taxation and revenue system of state.....Leg. Amend.	18,468	13,593	32,061
3. Limiting terms of office of officers of executive departments to two years, and making them ineligible for reelection for two years after having served two consecutive terms. Officers must reside and keep public records at seat of government.....Leg. Amend.	18,474	12,257	30,731

NORTH CAROLINA

1. To require six months' public school term..Leg. Amend.	59,519	61,317	120,836 D
2. To prevent delays in trials by providing emergency judges.....Leg. Amend.	56,255	62,981	119,236 D
3. Increasing pay of state legislators and decreasing mileage.....Leg. Amend.	50,722	68,149	118,871 D
4. Substituting the phrase "War between the States" for the words "Insurrection or rebellion against the United States"....Leg. Amend.	57,816	61,031	118,847 D

Complete List of Measures by States Continued

	YES	NO	TOTAL
5. To revise and reform system of revenue and taxation.....Leg. Amend.	50,520	68,148	118,668 D
6. Restricting local, private, and special legislation.....Leg. Amend.	54,726	62,953	117,679 D
7. To prevent special charters to corporations by legislature.....Leg. Amend.	54,358	63,201	117,559 D
8. Fixing days of inauguration of Governor...Leg. Amend.	57,321	60,220	117,541 D
9. Removing obsolete sections from constitution.....Leg. Amend.	54,414	62,728	117,142 D
10. To prevent special charters to municipalities.....Leg. Amend.	53,887	63,027	116,914 D

NORTH DAKOTA

1. Woman suffrage.....Leg. Amend.			Rejected
2. Providing terminal grain elevators within the state.....Leg. Amend.	51,507	18,484	69,991
3. Initiative and referendum.....Leg. Amend.	48,783	19,964	68,747
4. State aid for public highways.....Leg. Amend.	47,387	21,054	68,441
5. Providing initiative for amending constitution.....Leg. Amend.	43,111	21,815	64,926
6. To change name of state blind asylum...Leg. Amend.	42,365	21,779	64,144
7. Classification of property for taxation...Leg. Amend.	45,162	18,135	63,297

OHIO

1. Home rule on the subject of intoxicating liquors.....Init. Amend.	554,548	546,248	1,100,796
2. Prohibition.....Init. Amend.	503,292	586,663	1,089,955 D
3. Woman suffrage.....Init. Amend.	334,160	517,611	851,771 D
4. Limitation of tax rate and classification of property for purposes of taxation.....Init. Amend.	224,598	551,977	776,575 D

OKLAHOMA

1. Reducing maximum state tax.....Init. Amend.	117,675	57,120	*174,795 D
2. Reducing number of courts from two to one, called supreme court.....Init. Amend.	105,529	64,782	*170,311 D
3. Two per cent tax on product of mines, gas, and petroleum.....Init. Amend.	107,342	62,380	*169,722 D
4. One-body legislature of 80 members.....Init. Amend.	94,636	71,742	*166,388 D

OREGON

1. Prohibition.....Init. Amend.	136,842	100,362	237,204
2. Universal eight-hour day.....Init. Amend.	49,360	167,888	217,248 D
3. Eight-hour day and room ventilation for female workers.....Init. Stat.	88,480	120,296	208,776 D
4. Requiring voters to be citizens.....Leg. Amend.	164,879	39,847	204,726
5. Regulating requirements of dentists to practice in state.....Init. Stat.	92,722	110,404	203,126 D
6. \$1,500 tax exemption.....Init. Amend.	65,495	136,193	201,688 D
7. Abolition of death penalty.....Init. Stat.	100,552	100,395	200,947
8. Creating office of Lieutenant-Governor...Leg. Amend.	52,040	143,804	195,844 D
9. Annual tax levy to reestablish Southern Oregon normal school at Ashland.....Leg. Stat.	84,041	109,643	193,684 D
10. Annual tax levy to reestablish state normal school at Weston.....Leg. Stat.	87,450	105,345	192,795 D
11. County officers' terms to be four years instead of two.....Init. Amend.	82,841	107,039	189,880 D
12. Increasing pay of legislators.....Leg. Amend.	41,087	146,278	187,365 D
13. Abolishing State senate.....Init. Amend.	62,376	123,429	185,805 D

*Failed to receive a majority of all the votes cast in the election.

Complete List of Measures by States Continued

	YES	NO	TOTAL
14. Authorizing state indebtedness for irrigation and power projects. Leg. Amend.	49,759	135,550	185,309 D
15. Specific personal graduated extra-tax. Init. Amend.	59,186	124,943	184,129 D
16. "Right to work" amendment. Creating department to give work to unemployed. Init. Amend.	57,859	126,201	184,060 D
17. Equal assessment and taxation and \$300 exemption. Init. Amend.	43,280	140,507	183,787 D
18. Public docks and water front. Prohibiting sale of beds of navigable waters and subjecting same to public use for construction of municipal docks. Init. Amend.	67,128	114,564	181,692 D
19. Non-partisan nominations for judicial officers. Init. Stat.	74,323	107,263	181,586 D
20. Permitting city and county governments to be consolidated upon vote of people interested. Leg. Amend.	77,392	103,194	180,586 D
21. Primary delegate election bill. Authorizing primary election of delegates to recommend names of persons to be voted for at primary nominating elections. Init. Stat.	25,058	153,638	178,696 D
22. Cities and towns authorized to construct municipal wharves and docks. Init. Stat.	67,110	111,113	178,223 D
23. Tax code commission to be appointed by governor. Init. Stat.	34,436	143,468	177,904 D
24. Proportional representation and election of State legislature at large. Init. Amend.	39,740	137,116	176,856 D
25. Abolishing desert land board and merging certain offices. Init. Stat.	32,701	143,366	176,067 D
26. Modifying uniform rule of taxation. Omitting "All taxation shall be equal and uniform" and providing for levy and collection under general law for public purposes only and prohibiting surrender of taxing power. Leg. Amend.	59,206	116,490	175,696 D
27. Consolidating corporation and insurance departments. Init. Stat.	55,469	120,154	175,623 D
28. Modifying rule of taxation. Changing rule for uniformity, authorizing levy of taxes on such property and in such manner as prescribed by general law, classification of property for purposes of taxation, the imposition of special taxes and taxes on incomes, and authorizing reasonable exemptions. Leg. Amend.	52,362	122,704	175,066 D
29. Permitting an enactment of a general law authorizing cities to consolidate on vote of their electors. Leg. Amend.	96,116	77,671	173,787

SOUTH CAROLINA

1. An amendment to Section 8, Article II, of the constitution, by adding thereto, on line three, after the word "college" and before the word "the" the following: "South Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind, located at Cedar Springs." Leg. Amend. Adopted
2. Relating to municipal bonded indebtedness, by adding a proviso as to the school district of Yorkville. Leg. Amend. Adopted
3. To empower the Cities of Florence and

Complete List of Measures by States Continued

- Orangeburg and the Town of Landrum to assess abutting property for permanent improvements.....Leg. Amend.....Adopted
4. An amendment to Section 20, Article III, of the constitution, by adding thereto the following: "Except where there is only one candidate nominated for the place to be filled at such election, in which case the election shall be viva voce without any roll call".....Leg. Amend.....Adopted
5. Relating to municipal bonded indebtedness by adding a proviso as to the City of Florence.....Leg. Amend.....Adopted
6. To empower the Cities of Chester and Sumter each to issue bonds to an amount not exceeding fifteen per cent of the assessed value of the taxable property therein for the improvement of streets and sidewalks.....Leg. Amend.....Adopted
7. To empower the Towns of Latta and Dillon to assess abutting property for permanent improvements.....Leg. Amend.....Adopted
8. An amendment to Section 1, Article XII, of the constitution, by striking out the words "blind, deaf and dumb" after the word "insane" on line two, and before the word "and" on line two.....Leg. Amend.....Adopted
9. To empower the Town of Fort Mill to assess abutting property for permanent improvement.....Leg. Amend.....Adopted
10. To empower the Cities of Anderson, Greenwood and Towns of Bennettsville, Timmons ville and Honea Path to assess abutting property for permanent improvements.....Leg. Amend.....Adopted

SOUTH DAKOTA		YES	NO	TOTAL
1. Woman suffrage.....	Leg. Amend.	39,605	51,519	91,124 D
2. Amending local option law.....	Ref. Stat.	38,000	51,779	89,779 D
3. Constitutional convention.....	Leg. Resolut'n.	34,832	51,585	86,417 D
4. New primary act.....	Ref. Stat.	37,106	44,697	81,803 D
5. Reducing interest on school fund loans....	Leg. Amend.	45,554	35,102	80,656
6. Taking limit off term of county school superintendents.....	Leg. Amend.	32,092	45,733	77,825 D
7. Fixing course of study at Aberdeen Normal School.....	Ref. Stat.	27,538	49,382	76,920 D
8. Four-year legislative terms.....	Leg. Amend.	29,746	45,051	74,797 D
9. State board of control for charitable and penal institutions.....	Leg. Amend.	29,601	44,107	73,708 D
10. Permitting cities and counties to own and operate irrigation works.....	Leg. Amend.	32,958	40,457	73,415 D
11. Providing for appointment of substitute judge for supreme court when member of court is interested party.....	Leg. Amend.	36,317	36,543	72,860 D
12. Allowing legislature to fix percentage of city initiative referendum.....	Leg. Amend.	28,226	43,162	71,388 D

TEXAS

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|---|-------------|--------|--------|-----------|
| 1. Initiative, referendum and recall..... | Leg. Amend. | 62,166 | 66,779 | 128,945 D |
|---|-------------|--------|--------|-----------|

Complete List of Measures by States Continued

	YES	NO	TOTAL
2. Increasing pay of legislators.....Leg. Amend.	37,221	89,307	126,528 D
3. Issuing bonds for improvement districts and permitting gulf cities to build sea walls..Leg. Amend.	47,130	77,958	125,088 D
VERMONT			
1. Direct primary law.....Leg. Stat.*	22,645	5,697	28,342
2. Preferential primary whereby voters may instruct their delegates to political con- ventions as to their preference for candi- dates for office.....Leg. Stat.*	11,312	8,021	19,333
WASHINGTON			
1. Prohibition.....Init. Stat.	189,840	171,208	361,048
2. Universal eight-hour day.....Init. Stat.	118,881	212,935	331,816 D
3. Creating teachers' retirement fund.....Ref. Stat.	59,051	252,356	311,407 D
4. Regulating employment agencies.....Init. Stat.	162,054	144,544	306,598
5. First aid by employer for his workmen injured in very hazardous employments..Init. Stat.	143,738	154,166	297,904 D
6. Providing for convict road work.....Init. Stat.	111,805	183,726	295,531 D
7. Quincy Valley irrigation act.....Ref. Stat.	102,315	189,065	291,380 D
8. Blue-sky law.....Init. Stat.	142,017	147,298	289,315 D
9. Abolition of bureau of inspection of public offices.....Init. Stat.	117,882	167,080	284,962 D
10. Prohibiting alien land ownership.....Leg. Amend.	55,080	212,542	267,622 D
WISCONSIN			
1. Initiative and referendum.....Leg. Amend.	81,155	143,800	224,955 D
2. Constitutional amendments to be submitted to people after having been passed by three-fifths of members elected to both houses of the legislature.....Leg. Amend.	68,639	156,068	224,707 D
3. Permitting insurance by the state and providing that the state may grant annuities, with an annual accounting, a separation and safeguarding of all insurance funds.....Leg. Amend.	56,990	163,992	220,982 D
4. Home rule for cities and villages.....Leg. Amend.	82,247	138,307	220,554 D
5. Increasing pay of legislators and decreasing mileage.....Leg. Amend.	65,193	153,166	218,359 D
6. Recall of all except judicial officials.....Leg. Amend.	77,876	140,344	218,220 D
7. Permitting state to provide for state in- surance with an annual accounting and separation and safeguarding of all in- surance funds.....Leg. Amend.	55,230	161,055	216,285 D
8. Requiring legislature upon petition to sub- mit constitutional amendments to the people.....Leg. Amend.	65,008	146,163	211,171 D
9. Authorizing legislature to decrease the number of judicial circuits and to provide for judges in several circuits.....Leg. Amend.	60,143	150,764	210,907 D
10. Excess condemnation of land in cities.....Leg. Amend.	58,306	150,621	208,927 D
WYOMING			
1. Fixing tax on live stock to create a fund for the payment of bounties on predatory animals.....Leg. Amend.	20,419	8,331	†28,750 D
2. Workmen's compensation.....Leg. Amend.	24,258	3,915	28,173
3. Lengthening legislative session.....Leg. Amend.	16,996	8,479	†25,475 D
4. Allowing state to bond itself for internal improvements.....Leg. Amend.	16,882	7,507	†24,389 D

*Advisory referenda.

†(A majority [22,439] of the total votes [44,877] cast at the election was necessary to pass each amendment.)

